

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 OMB-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-01
INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15
USIA-06 ACDA-07 TRSE-00 SAJ-01 CU-02 BIB-01 OIC-02
ERDA-05 /077 W

-----112108Z 013113 /64

R 112021Z FEB 77
FM AMEMBASSY PARIS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 9712
INFO USMISSION NATO
AMEMBASSY ANKARA
AMEMBASSY ATHENS
AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS
AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN
AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE
AMEMBASSY LISBON
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG
AMEMBASSY OSLO
AMEMBASSY OTTAWA
AMEMBASSY REYKJAVIK
AMEMBASSY ROME
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
AMEMBASSY BELGRADE
AMEMBASSY BERLIN
AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST
AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST
AMEMBASSY DUBLIN
AMEMBASSY MADRID
AMEMBASSY PRAGUE
AMEMBASSY SOFIA
AMEMBASSY WARSAW
USDEL MBFR VIENNA
USLOSACLANT
USNMR SHAPE
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 02 PARIS 04424

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PFOR CSCE
SUBJECT: CSCE/CBMS: FEBRUARY 10 POLADS DISCUSSION

REF: STATE 30016

1. BEGIN SUMMARY: FOLLOWING IS IN RESPONSE DEPARTMENT'S REQUEST OUR UNDERSTANDING CURRENT FRENCH POSITION ON CBMS (PARA 10 REFTEL) BASED ON RECENT CONTACTS WITH QUAI. IN ESSENCE, FRENCH ARE EXTREMELY RESERVED ON CBMS, BUT WILL NOT BE WHOLLY INFLEXIBLE THESE ISSUES. END SUMMARY.

2. FRENCH APPROACH STARTS FROM UNSHAKABLE PREMISE THAT CBMS, AS QUAI OFFICER RECENTLY PUT IT, ARE SIMPLY NOT "A FIRST-RATE SUBJECT." FRENCH MILITARY THEMSELVES OBVIOUSLY DO NOT BASE THEIR DEFENSE APPRECIATIONS ON THAT KIND OF INFORMATION PROVIDED UNDER CURRENT CBM ARRANGEMENTS AND HAVE NO GREAT HOPES THAT MARGINAL IMPROVEMENTS IN THESE ARRANGEMENTS COULD SIGNIFICANTLY IMPROVE POLITICAL OR MILITARY SECURITY OF WEST, OR, FOR THAT MATTER, SOVIET MILITARY THINKING. MOREOVER, WE HAVE REPEATEDLY BEEN TOLD (ARD AGREE) THAT THERE IS NOT SLIGHTEST PUBLIC INTEREST IN FRANCE IN THIS ASPECT OF THE FINAL ACT, IN CONTRAST TO THE GREATER PRESSURES ON BASKETS II AND III. EVEN THE PCF, WHICH FAIRLY FAITHFULLY REFLECTS WARSAW PACT LINES ON DISARMAMENT ISSUES, HAS YET TO DISCOVER CBMS. AS A RESULT, THERE ARE NEITHER BUREAUCRATIC NOR POPULAR PRESSURES ON THE GOF TO BRING HOME ANY NEW BACON IN THIS FIELD.

3. ON OTHER HAND, QUAI, LIKE OURSELVES, IS CONVINCED
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THAT WESTERN DEMANDS FOR SOVIET CONCESSIONS IN CBM FIELD WOULD PROMPTLY PRECIPITATE SOVIET COUNTER-DEMANDS--MOST LIKELY IN QUITE DIFFERENT AREAS OF FINAL ACT--WHICH WEST MIGHT FIND DIFFICULT TO DISENGAGE FROM. QUAI KEEPS RECALLING TENACIOUS, MANY FACETED NEGOTIATIONS REQUIRED TO GET WHAT WE HAVE IN CBMS DURING GENEVA NEGOTIATIONS. QUAI'S PRIMARY CONCERN IS, THEREFORE, THAT IF WE ARE TO TRY FOR CBM IMPROVEMENTS, THAT THEY MAY PROVE DISPROPORTIONATELY EXPENSIVE AND COULD WELL DESTROY EXISTING FINE BALANCE OF FINAL ACT.

4. THIS PARTICULARLY LIKELY TO BE THE CASE IF NEUTRALS OR OTHERS SUCCEED IN ACTUALLY OPENING UP TEXT OF FINAL ACT ITSELF. IF WEST PERSISTS, SOVIETS WOULD PROMPTLY COUNTER, FOR INSTANCE, WITH MISCHIEVOUSLY CONSTRUCTED DISARMAMENT AMENDMENTS. AS RESULT, THEY WOULD IN END BE MORE LIKELY TO GET SOMETHING OF REAL SUBSTANCE, IN RETURN FOR IMPROVEMENTS ON CBMS, WHOSE VALUE, IN FRENCH ANALYSIS, IS LIMITED TO THE SMALL, LEAST-INFORMED

PARTICIPATING STATES.

5. AS CONSEQUENCE, WE BELIEVE FRENCH WILL REMAIN
BLUNTLY OPPOSED TO ANY MOVES WHICH:

--(A) RISK OPENING FINAL ACT TO RENEGOTIATION
OR AMENDMENTS; OR

--(B) WOULD BE LIKELY TO EXACT TOO HIGH A PRICE,
IN WHATEVER FORMAT, FROM THE OTHER SIDE.

6. EVEN SO, WE ALSO CONFIDENT FRENCH ARE NOT INSENSI-
TIVE TO THE POLITICAL PRESSURES AMONG NINE, FIFTEEN,

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 02 PARIS 04424

AND NEUTRALS IN THIS AREA. THIS WAS SHOWN IN FRENCH
ACCEPTANCE OF WHAT WE GATHER WAS CAUTIOUS BUT NOT RIGID
FORMULATION IN A PAPER THE NINE RECENTLY COMPLETED ON
THIS SCORE. IT ALSO CONFIRMED IN CURRENT CONTACTS HERE.

7. SPECIFICALLY WE BELIEVE FRENCH ARE LIKELY TO REACT
AS FOLLOWS:

--(A) THEY WILL REMAIN RIGIDLY OPPOSED TO ANY
EFFORTS CHANGE PARAMETERS IN THE FINAL ACT ITSELF FOR
ABOVE-STATED REASONS; WHETHER THIS INVOLVES ANY LOWER-
ING OF NUMBERS IN MANEUVERS TO BE NOTIFIED, OR CHANGES
IN THE TIME-PERIOD REQUIRED FOR NOTIFICATION;

--(B) ON OTHER HAND, WE EXPECT THAT THEY MIGHT
BE RATHER LESS RIGID IN OPPOSING EFFORTS TO OBTAIN
CLARIFICATIONS AND FURTHER IMPROVEMENTS IN THE CON-
TENTS OF NOTIFICATIONS; IF REPEAT IF THIS CAN BE DONE
IN CONTEXT OF COMMUNIQUE AND OF RELATED TEXTS, WITHOUT
AFFECTING INTEGRITY OF FINAL ACT ITSELF.

--(C) FINALLY, FRENCH HAVE MENTIONED TO US THAT
THEY MIGHT BE "QUITE RECEPTIVE" TO FLESHING OUT
UNDERSTANDING ON PRIOR NOTIFICATION ON MILITARY MOVE-
MENTS, SINCE TEXT UNDER THIS HEADING IN BASKET ONE OF
THE FINAL ACT SPECIFICALLY INVITES THE SIGNATORIES TO
GIVE "FURTHER CONSIDERATION" TO THIS FIELD. OPENING
OF FINAL ACT THEREFORE WOULD NOT BE INVOLVED. ON THE
OTHER HAND, FRENCH NOT SANGUINE SOVIETS LIKELY TO AGREE.

--(D) AS FOR TEXT ON EXCHANGE OF OBSERVERS,
FRENCH HAVE NEVER SHOWN MUCH INTEREST, BELIEVING THAT
EXCHANGING MORE AND MORE OBSERVERS WILL ONLY REDUCE
WHAT THEY MAY BE SHOWN. EVEN IF THIS IS FAULTY
REASONING, FACT IS THAT GOF'S INTEREST NOT STRONG.
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8. WE SHOULD CONCLUDE BY REITERATING CENTRAL FRENCH
THEME THAT NO REPEAT NO ASPECT OF CBM FIELD IS WORTH
PAYING ANY MAJOR PRICE TO OBTAIN IMPROVEMENTS. QUAI
IS LIKELY TO AGREE TO LAUNCHING OF SOME TRIAL BALLOONS
IN ALL BUT FIRST OF AREAS MENTIONED PARA 7, WHICH
THEY WILL CONTINUE TO OPPOSE. WE ALSO EXPECT, HOWEVER,
THAT THEY WOULD QUICKLY AND ENERGETICALLY INTERVENE TO
STOP SUCH PROCESS IF THEY SAW FROM SOVIET RESPONSES
THAT QUID PRO QUOS WERE GETTING TOO HIGH. THIS ALSO
IMPLIES WEST SHOULD NOT GET LOCKED INTO SUCH PRE-
BELGRADE POSTURE THAT IT "MUST" MAKE PROGRESS IN THIS
FIELD.

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Message Attributes

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Sent Date: 11-Feb-1977 12:00:00 am
Decaption Date: 01-Jan-1960 12:00:00 am
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 22 May 2009
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
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Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
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From: PARIS
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TAGS: PFOR, PDIP, GE, CSCE, (KOHL, MICHAEL), (KREUTZER, HERMANN)
To: STATE
Type: TE
vdkgvwkey: odb://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/75def5c7-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
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